

YALE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY
PHOTOGRAPHIC SERVICE

New Haven 3-19-51

1951

Departmental (or other) charge Univ. of Illinois lib

Name of Individual Order No A32341; Fund - Illinois Historical Survey

Address Urbana, Illinois Helen M Welch Astor-Lenox Lib

is sheet.

Delivery Instructions (mail, Will call, telephone no. _____)

Price

Title (1) British Co operators, Apr. - Oct 1830 PP.

College
Paris

(2) Londons PP.

Vol 1 #1

(3) _____ PP.

INSTRUCTIONS:

microfilm to end of volume

Photostats

Negatives _____	Positives _____	_____ at \$	
Negatives _____	Positives _____	_____ at \$	
Negatives _____	Positives _____	_____ at \$	
Enlargements _____	reductions _____	_____ at \$0.10	
Combinations _____		_____ at \$0.10	

Amount

Microfilms (Minimum charge \$1.00)

Negative exposures _____	_____ at \$0.03	
Service charge (change of sequence or focus) _____	_____ at \$0.10	

Photographs

Negatives - 5 x 7 _____	_____ at \$1.00	
- 8 x 10 _____	_____ at \$1.50	
Contact prints - 5 x 7 _____	_____ at \$0.25	
- 8 x 10 _____	_____ at \$0.40	
Enlargements - size _____	_____ at \$	

Special Charges

\$

tax

POSTAGE

TOTAL

prietors take the opportunity to intimate, that they shall in no case consider their property infringed on, by the publication of separate Articles, or portions of Articles, in any form accompanied with a reference to the Review as the source; and that as an inducement to associations and individuals to commence taking the work, the earlier numbers, to the year 1828 inclusive, may be received on considerably reduced terms, through application to the local Agents.

The Westminster Review appears regularly on the 1st day of January, April, July, and October. Price, Six Shillings. Agent for Scotland, MR. W. TAIT, Edinburgh. Agent for Ireland, MR. W. F. WAKEMAN, Dublin. Agents for America, Messrs. GRAY and BOWEN, Boston. Besides whom there is an Agent in every principal town in the United Kingdom.

An Index will speedily be published to the end of 1828. After which an Index of the successive portions will be published yearly, in such a manner as to allow of being bound up in any way the possessor may prefer.

The Articles already published in a cheap form, are,

THE CATHOLIC STATE WAGGON (being a reprint of the Article on the Catholic Question in No. XIX); with a Wood-cut by Seymour. 16 pages, small print. Price Twopence.

SLAVERY IN THE WEST INDIES (from No. XXII); with a Postscript (from No. XXIII), and a Design by G. Cruikshank. Stereotype. 8 pages, small print. Price One Penny.

The Article on "ESSAYS ON THE PURSUIT OF TRUTH" (from No. XXII). Price Twopence.

On the "GREATEST HAPPINESS PRINCIPLE;" in answer to the Edinburgh Review. Stereotype; with a Design by G. Cruikshank.

Part I. Price Twopence.

Part II. Price Three Halfpence.

Part III. Price Twopence.

Or the whole together; with Additions. Price Sixpence.

The Article on the COLONIZATION AND COMMERCE OF BRITISH INDIA (from No. XXII). 32 pages. Price Fourpence.

The Article on FREE TRADE (from No. XXIII); with a collection of Objections and the Answers, and a Design by T. Landseer. 16 pages, small print. Price Three Halfpence.

The Article on RADICAL REFORM (from No. XXIII). 12 pages. Price Twopence.

The Article on the INSTRUMENT OF EXCHANGE (reprinted from No. I); with additional Observations appropriate to the period of republication. Republished 1 Feb. 1830. Addressed to the Fund-holders and the Labouring classes; demonstrating the effects on each, of a Depreciation of the Currency. 28 pages, small print. Price Threepence.

The CATECHISM ON THE CORN LAWS. 14th Edition; comprehending the Article on Free Trade, as described above. Five sheets of small print. Price Sixpence.

The TRUE THEORY OF RENT. 6th Edition. Price Threepence.

Sold by ROBERT HEWARD, at the Office of the Westminster Review, 2, Wellington Street, Strand, London; by B. STEILL, 20, Paternoster Row; and by all Agents of the Westminster Review.

Jan. 31, 1830.

18

THE
BRITISH CO-OPERATOR;
OR, RECORD AND REVIEW
Of Co-operative and Entertaining Knowledge.

EDITORS' PREFACE.

IT is usual for Editors to declare their intentions in troubling the public to read their pages, therefore we must follow custom for our example, and tell every body that we mean to lay before them, in the future pages of our Embryo Co-operator, *every thing that shall in any way tend to give useful knowledge* to the world; nor shall we neglect to seek for such matter as may amuse as well as instruct our brethren. In fact, we have the wish to be useful and to please, and should we fail, we hope that the public will look with indulgence on our faults, and bring forth something better in our place, which we shall gladly resign, so soon as the ground is fairly contested, that we have taken our stand upon.

In the mean time we shall pursue our course, and give to our readers that which we ourselves have felt the early want of; namely, a periodical which shall embrace the polished literature of the higher classes in some of the articles; whilst in others, the less beautified but strait-forward style of the honest and simple minded British Co-operator.

It shall be our care to lay before the public all really important information relative to the existence of Co-operative Societies, their position in society, the laws affecting their government, and the modes of managing their business, their accounts, and manufactures. We shall give them such information as may improve their general knowledge, without garbling them with falsehood. To the lighter portion of our readers, we shall offer amusement in the various anecdotes and notices of the most interesting novelties that can be found. To the scientific mind we shall bring a collection of the various discoveries or improvements that occur in the grand science of Nature. To the political economist and lover of distinct classes and grades of society, we shall bring information from all quarters of the globe relative to the actual position of the people, their trades, manufactures, and *poverty*; facts that shall be incontrovertible, so thickening in number as they come, that idiotcy and perverted selfishness, shall alone resist their truth.

Feeling that warm affection which we presume occupies the breast of every lover of the happiness of the greatest number, and being desirous of putting our readers in possession of a likeness of those who have done honour to the form of human beings; we promise to give, in the course of publishing each volume, a portrait of some distinguished individual. The first portrait that will appear in the series, will be that of Robert Owen, Esq., of New Lanark, the Founder of Infant Schools and Co-operation.

We assure the public that it is our intention to be impartial in our proceedings, and when we venture to act the part of a critic, we shall not find fault without giving our reasons.

CO-OPERATIVE STORE-KEEPERS,

And the laws affecting them and the Society's trade.

THE growing importance of the responsibility attached to the office of storekeeper, and the recent frauds committed by persons serving in that department, renders it necessary that some light should be thrown on the helpless condition of all Co-operative trading societies, so as to prevent them from becoming the dupes of the confidence reposed in their officers: particularly the storekeeper.

It is not generally known that Co-operative trading or working societies, are from their nature, exposed to all the disadvantages of co-partnerships of two or more individuals, and that the laws affecting the protection of creditors, and the losses of partners, are those which in a court of equity, would be applicable to suitors in Co-operative trading societies. For a partnership to exist between persons does not require the signature of deeds or agreements, to that effect. Merely uniting the interests of two persons, in any commercial transaction, where profits are the object of the union, constitutes a co-partnership*. Therefore a union of two or more persons in a *trading company or society*, constitutes a partnership; whether that partnership be called a *Co-operative trading society* or a *working union*. The object being to carry on a trade, by making a profit on the sale of groceries or other commodities, as manufactured goods, &c.

It is a law in England that no

* See Gow on the Law of Partnership, page 4.

partner shall sue his co-partner, for any fraud or breach of agreement by an action at common law; his only mode of proceeding against his partner, being to file a bill in equity in the court of Chancery. This mode of proceeding against any member of a Co-operative trading society, from the immense expenses attached to it, (for £60 would only meet the cost of filing the bill,) is rendered impossible for a working man to adopt. Therefore it is better for him to pocket the first loss sustained, rather than throw two or three years hard earned savings into the engulphing jaws of a chancery suit. Such being the case, effectual measures should be taken by every member of a Co-operative society, to avoid the unprotected situation he, and the property of the society to which he belongs, is exposed to, and prevent it from becoming the prey of designing and dishonest men. This is not said with a view to create unnecessary suspicions, or offensive and unpleasant vigilance, on the part of any individual; but rather to have such measures taken as shall be recommended hereafter, so that the person or officer trusted may not have it in his power to do wrong, which will place him above all suspicion, and prevent unpleasant anxiety on the part of the members of the society that he may be the servant of.

Our first object in the choice of a storekeeper, should be to appoint a person who has been educated as a shopman or distributor of goods; who is of a gainly appearance, clean, active, obliging, and possessing a high sense of honour. For without these very essential requisites, we must not be surprised at persons

being dissatisfied, and justly so, at the dirty appearance of the goods; the uncleanness of the server of them; his slow drawling mode of speaking and moving about, for the things that are required; or his doubt and hesitation in giving the correct change of a piece of money. Nor can we be surprised if the storekeeper be not obliging, that the public should cease to purchase at the store; or at the members of the society being reluctant to make their purchases at the store.

So long as Co-operative societies draw their funds from the the profit of retail dealing, they must adopt the same measures as other retail dealers do in the *competitive* system. Nor will the advantages just stated, be at all objectionable in the highest state of social and Co-operative arrangements. There are many reasons for choosing an educated shopman to fill the office of storekeeper; the first with every one one ought to be the necessity of practising the pure spirit of Co-operative *justice*; namely, the depriving of no man against his will, of the means of subsistence; but on the contrary to find employment for those who are without it, or may be deprived of it by superseding many of their present employers. The business or vocation of a shopman, is the only one in most cases that can be found for that deserving class of labourers, either in a retail or a wholesale establishment. These persons have gone through an expensive apprenticeship of many years, to acquire a knowledge of their business, and are the deserving and willing servants of the public and their money-getting employers. They are likewise

totally incapable of gaining an honourable livelihood by any manual labour or handicraft, which other persons educated to those employments have the power of doing.

These reasons induce us strongly to object to any workman with a trade, *who has employment*, and not out of work, being appointed to the office of storekeeper of a society, when other members of that society, who have no other business but that of a shopman or warehouseman, are totally deprived of employment, from the distress now experienced by the retail and wholesale dealers. Let Co-operators disarm their antagonists, the dealers, by shewing to their shopmen, that they are not opposed to them as individuals, but as the monopolizers of the property which ought, under an equitable state of things, to belong to the producers of those articles which the dealers are selling.

As the law, as before explained, secures to a storekeeper, who is a member of the society, the certainty that he cannot be punished if he commits a crime, *every storekeeper on being elected, should sign his resignation as a member*, so that he may not screen himself behind the dark and impenetrable security the present laws of partnership afford him in England. He will then become the responsible and also punishable servant of the society, or rather of the *trustees* who ought to carry on the trade. The society or *trustees* can then accept a bond or security from him for his good conduct, with the certainty that if he fails in performing his duty, they can come on his security for the payment of the forfeited bond.

The same effects of the laws

of partnership hold good in the case of bondsmen. If a partner, or a member, or a trustee, becomes a joint bondsman for the conduct of a person employed, that individual bondsman screens himself from the penalty of the bond, by pleading that he is a joint partner, and exempt from the penalty, being a party concerned. Thus we perceive that such a bondsman is no bondsman at all! therefore, if we do accept a bondsman, let it be one that is responsible for the bond he enters into. But that individual must not be one of the trustees, in whose names the licenses are taken out, nor one of the members of the society, if there be no trustees; but, on the contrary an individual no way connected with the common interest of that particular society.

It is important, now that we have shewn who are not fitted to be bondsmen, to shew who may become, with safety to the society, bondsmen for the conduct of any of its servants. Then, in the first place, provided the party is, a respectable person honest, and possessed of some property, at least equal to the penalty of the bond, we need not, hesitate to accept the bond of a person indifferent to Co-operation, as a good security. Nor need we hesitate, under the same provisions, to accept the bond of a person in *another* Co-operative society, which is *distinct, and has no connexion* with our own, as a participator in the laws governing us, or the profits our society may be making by its transactions.

As the investigation of these subjects will occupy much time, and be apt to fatigue the attention, we shall break off here; and take up the subject of managing a store, and the trustees in our next.

CO-OPERATION.

By Mr. Edward Gardener, and Mr. John Stevenson.

WE copy from the *Newry Telegraph*, two speeches on Co-operation, which do honor to the speakers as well as elucidate the principles of pure Co-operation. The Armagh Benevolent Society held its Annual Dinner on the 7th of January in the Market-house, when eighty persons sat down to table. The arrangements were well conducted and the harmony of good and benevolent feeling prevailed in every breast. Mr. Edward Gardener presided and was assisted by Mr. John Stevenson, treasurer, in the vice president's chair. The usual toasts were drank, and many speeches delivered by several gentlemen, who seem to have met for the purpose of shewing how beautiful and generous human nature is capable of becoming. On the health of the Chairman being drunk he addressed the society as follows:—

Gentlemen, I do thank you. I am happy that I hold a place in your esteem, and it shall be my most anxious desire to preserve it. I know that the sphere of an individual influence, placed in the humble situation in which I move, is exceedingly limited; but I have learned, and that, too, from one of the best and most disinterested men living, “not to despair of individual exertions.” Gentlemen, the period in which we live is the most interesting in the history of the human race. It is full of events which cannot fail in producing an alteration in the institutions of society. He has but slender pretensions to foresight, or pays slight attention to the signs of the times, who does not see that mighty changes must be made to suit the

circumstances by which we are surrounded. The progress of knowledge is now rapid. It has pervaded the dwellings of the comparatively humble, and the effects will to the existing generation, perhaps, be either lamentable or glorious. If, by a strange frailty, men should check the enlightenment of their fellow-creatures—if the mass should remain in ignorance, and the causes of their degradation continue and increase, which is highly probable—I tremble for the convulsion that must occur. But if, on the other hand knowledge shall be diffused—if the efforts that are now made throughout the kingdom be not impeded, and if the influence of sound Philosophy and genuine Christianity be felt, then, indeed, a condition of those things will arise, which shall realize the fondest wishes of the lovers of man. Nor do these expectations come under the class of illusive dreams. They are not mere visionary anticipations, as too many consider them, but sober deductions drawn from the nature of man himself. They are founded upon the influence of circumstances in the formation of character—an influence of every-day occurrence, and demonstrable beyond the shadow of a doubt—an influence too universally acted upon, though strongly denied. This, among many other instances which might be adduced, affords an example of the pertinacity with which men oppose truth in speculation while they acknowledge it in practice. The whole constitution of society is unjust and irrational. It has arisen necessarily, from the nature of man, and it must as necessarily, from the same cause, finally be based upon the only foundation on which such a structure should be

reared,—the greatest happiness of the greatest number. But though it is unjust—though it is irrational, and, consequently, inimical to the well-being of the majority—yet (and oh that men were convinced of the important truth!) no man—no body of men—is justly chargeable with this condition of things. We are the creatures of circumstances. We act from motives. These motives are independent of us. They have their origin from without; and, operating upon our minds, lead us to inevitable results—Experience alone can show the fitness and propriety of actions, and this fitness, and this propriety, are what is in accordance with nature. Hence it requires a long time to find out what is most conducive to our happiness; and hence the wise man will not condemn the path which a contemporary points to, merely because it was never trod before. He will not try every thing by his own notions of what is best, nor overvalue the wisdom of our ancestors, and shape his conduct by their actions—he will not estimate lightly the improvements of modern times, or measure by a standard that might have suited other circumstances and other people, the habits, and feelings, and institutions of these days. (Hear, hear.) He will not keep his eyes fixed upon what has passed, but look around, and glance forward. In this way will the wise man act, but all those who are indifferent, and all those who profit by the ignorance and the crimes of man, will cry up the wisdom of bye-gone times, when every hill was the habitation of elfin spirits, and every thorn sacred to a supernatural power of good and evil. On the contrary, he will examine every suggested

improvement. He will try it by this principle—Is it calculated to serve mankind?—can it lead to the happiness of the greatest number? This is the only test. Shall it and this, be in accordance with the nature of man, then we may exclaim, with the Philosopher, “We have found it, we have found it.” Many of those who are now listening to me are not aware of the social arrangements which the benevolent Owen has spent an active life in recommending for the adoption of mankind. I need not occupy your time in investigating now, for he is entitled to the merit of a discoverer of this, the grandest scheme that ever was promulgated for the happiness of the human race. Some have endeavoured to detract from the fame he so justly merits; but be he the author—or the reviver—or the modifier—his name will go down to future generations as the greatest benefactor that ever lived! (Hear and cheers.) While those who have dazzled mankind by splendid military achievements, and who have gained applause and renown by being the wholesale murderers of their fellow-creatures will be remembered only as beacons to warn men of the dangers and crimes of ambition, Owen will have his name enshrined in the hearts of an intelligent—of a happy race. Well, indeed, may he endure the scoffs of the unthinking—the contumely of the half-informed: well may he despise, though I question if such a feeling could have a place in his enlightened mind, the foes, when he glances into futurity and contemplates the glorious state to which his fellow-creatures will have arrived—“when” to use the beautiful figure of Sacred Volume,

“spears will be beaten into ploughshares, and swords into pruning-hooks.” It has been beautifully and justly observed by my friend, who delighted us on another occasion, “that man, apart from his fellow-man, is weak and helpless and that it is only when he co-operates with him that he acts the part of a rational being.” How true! and yet how many ages have passed—how many wise—how many benevolent men have run their course before this, to us a plain and obvious truth, was discovered! So true is it that lengthened observation must forerun accurate deduction. So far as this Society has gone we have acted upon the principle of co-operation. We have united together upon common ground, for a common object. Let us, then extend the advantages of co-operation—let it not be confined merely to a bed of sickness, glorious, and humane, and wise, as such no doubt is; but let it walk into the world with us, and while it soothes the pains of humanity in disease, let it add to our enjoyments in the far longer period of health, and in the various relations of life. Let us act up to the plain and obvious truth, that happiness, the end and aim of existence, is not compatible with privation, and that a comfortable home and plenty are the best preservatives against idleness and dissipation. Who are they that are to be found in a tavern wasting their health and time in drunkenness, the silliest, and, at the same time, the most destructive of all vices?—Who are they that daily tipple the cursed poison, that has been the parent of crime, and the destroyer of domestic felicity—that has sent fathers abroad in rags, and kept wives and children

naked and hungry at home—Who are they that load the shelves of the pawnbroker with clothes, and fill his stores with furniture, while they huddle together upon straw, that, by mere animal heat, they may preserve vitality? They are the ignorant,—for it is ignorance that is the cause of all the vices of nations, as well as of individuals. Who, I ask, would walk onward if he were positively certain that he would fall into an unfathomable chasm, where destruction was inevitable? It is ignorance, then of the true path to happiness, that prevents men from pursuing it—it is ignorance of the fate that awaits vice and folly which prevents men from avoiding them. There is no truth more certain—Nature, for the wisest and best of purposes, has made it a condition of our existence itself—that virtuous actions lead to happiness, and vicious indulgence to pain and ultimate destruction. Let us not dally, then, with vice; she is a syren that captivates only to destroy; she holds out a hand of affected friendship, while in the other she clutches the poisoned dagger. It is the province of divines to hold out motives, drawn from futurity, for the purpose of effecting eternal felicity—and to them I cheerfully surrender the task. I attempt another duty and will now endeavour to point out the means of obtaining greater temporal happiness than we have hitherto enjoyed. Many of the vices, and all the crimes of society have their origin, not as has been preposterously imagined, in the organization of man, but in the political and social institutions which operate upon him. These subject the mass to inextricable poverty and

ignorance. So long as this state of things shall continue, the fate of the people is—degradation.—The creators of all the wealth—of all the enjoyments—of all the luxuries with which this world overflows—shall themselves possess none of them. A mere modicum of their own creation, under the name of “wages,” barely sufficient to support existence, shall be doled out to them. But this pittance will be altogether insufficient, without the charitable donations of the humane, to procure the advantages of education to their progeny. How admirably adapted is this system to keep the “lower orders,” as their haughty and ungrateful masters impudently denominate them, in perpetual bondage! In place of being, which it truly is, the work of accident, it seems the effect of the most cunning design. They may combine to keep up the price of labour—they may be tempted to enforce such combinations by the horrible expedient of murder; they may use every effort to prevent a reduction of wages; but all—all will be vain and nugatory.

The competition of capitalists, the improvements of machinery, and their individual competition with each other, will prevent them from rising beyond their present abject condition, and keep them in the lowest grade of mere animal existence. (hear, hear, hear.) So long as this state of things shall continue—so long as the producer is a voluntary slave—so long, he has no hopes; and it is the worst of illusions to tell him that mere political changes can materially improve his condition. I demand your attention to what I am now about to state. Wealth is the production of human labour—and of

human labour alone. Money—land—houses—every species of property—can be made of no possible use to the owners, unless, by their means, they can employ the productive powers of man. We can easily imagine, for example, an individual possessed of millions, so universally detested, that no human being would hold any intercourse with him.—What, then, would all his gold be worth?—Nothing—absolutely nothing! He must either starve or till the ground for food—build a house to shelter him from the changes of the weather—go naked or make his own garments. Thus, then, we may clearly see that what is called “wealth” depends, in reality, upon the ignorance of mankind. It is ignorance which renders it effective; and it is only want of knowledge which prevents the truly useful members of society, who are now plunged in poverty and all its concomitant evils, from being truly rich by enjoying the production of their own labour.—I beg of you to reflect upon this. It will enable you to see clearly your intrinsic worth, and ultimately to emancipate yourselves from the most degrading and the most distressing thralldom. But you will ask, what should the artizan and the labourer do?—how can they escape from the evils that surround them? My friends, the evil is competition—the cause is, every man pursuing his own interest at the expense of every other. It is this that renders man’s existence a continued series of chance; it is this that places in jeopardy that which should be based upon the strongest certainty; it is this that has converted the world into a lottery, where, for a few prizes, there are thousands and tens of thousands of blanks. Can

such a state be perpetual? Could Providence design it to be so? No!—Has he not placed pain as a sentinel for the preservation of animal existence? Do not the evils, then, resulting from competition, and the present unsocial state of man, proclaim aloud that the path to happiness is not pursued—that the human family is lost in the mazes of errors? Do you not see, that if you were to stand together—that if you are your own employers and your own customers—if, in a word, you kept all you produced, that the wretchedness and the misery—the want and the crime which stare us in the face, go where we will—would vanish, and all would be happy? I repeat, in place of working for others, work for yourselves. Let the spirit of independence arise. Cease to be slaves! Aspire to intellectual freedom; and you will, when surrounded by comforts—when placed in the midst of enjoyment—marvel at the change which wisdom can effect. Your grateful hearts will overflow with love: you will behold a friend in all—an enemy in none. For the vices of man,—for his pride—for his haughtiness—for his arrogance—for his insolence,—you will feel pity. You will then have reason to exclaim—“Pardon them! for they know not what they do!” The secret of man’s degradation has been sought out, and it has been found;—the monster has been produced: his name is “Competition.”—He is the offspring of ignorance, and the parent of selfishness. What has he done for the human race?—or, rather, what black deed in the frightful catalogue of crime—what misery, that has rendered man desperate?—what wretchedness, that has harrowed the heart and made the sym-

pathetic bosom burst with anguish—what father, that has ended his melancholy career on a gallows—what miserable orphan, that seeks from door to door a scanty meal, and grows up a villain, steeped in every vice—which does not owe all to this—the fell monster,—**Competition?** Let me not be misunderstood. When I call upon you to be no longer slaves, it is far from my intention to lead my fellow-citizens to believe that in revolution there is hope. No such thing. I do most solemnly aver that there is nothing I so sincerely dread as any attempt to improve our condition by force. Every undertaking of this kind would only hurl us farther back from the goal of happiness. You enjoy your personal liberty—you require no more; for though power may, and will, strip you by force of some part of the fruit of your labour—it dare not, thanks to the enlightened state of the public mind! seize upon all. Employ, therefore, that liberty in Co-operation, and you will enjoy all the benefits I have enumerated, with many more of which I can form no adequate conception. I am well aware that your prejudices—your feelings—your habits—the false impressions we have all received, and of which we are at present formed, oppose too powerful a barrier for our immediate adoption of this sovereign remedy to want—this powerful friend to every temporal blessing. I am well aware of this being the fact: but that man is poorly informed, who would hence conclude that Co-operation is unsuited to the nature of man, and altogether impracticable.—Observe, that arrogance and presumption are always the companions of pretence; and that, where there

is a lack of reasoning, there will be an abundance of dogmatism. I wish to guard you from allowing others to usurp the place of judges in what concerns yourselves. The friends of Co-operation do not fear inquiry. They court it. I, deeply convinced of its importance, and the truth of the principles on which it rests, entreat of you to examine. Let no man place himself between you and your true good. Listen to what he may say; but judge for yourselves. In the mean time, without getting rid of a single prejudice—without compromising a single absurd feeling—you may materially benefit yourselves and families. You have a considerable sum in the hands of the bankers, for which you receive only four per cent. What way is this to allow such a fund to rest? There are two ways of employing this capital, and with perfect safety, which will give you very important advantages. On another occasion I will point these out; but here I must stop, and crave your indulgence for the time I have occupied. I have taken this opportunity, for very obvious reasons to call your attention to the great and paramount subject of Co-operation; and I only lament that a due regard to the feelings of others constrains me from doing justice to myself in developing the principles on which my convictions rest, and in attempting to lay before you a detail of the advantages with which the new social system overflows.—But I will not relinquish the glorious object. I will do all in my power to hasten the blessed advent to which the institutions of society, and the circumstances of mankind, are, in my apprehension, hurrying the human family. I thank you.

Mr. STEVENSON rose and said—Mr. President and Gentlemen, believe me I feel truly grateful for the manner in which you have received my name. It is to me peculiarly gratifying that any services which I have rendered the Armagh Benevolent Society have been, I need not say appreciated, but overvalued. I have sedulously endeavoured to do my duty since I became your Treasurer, and for this I deserve little credit. It would be superfluous to recount, on this occasion, the numerous advantages resulting from such Institutions as the Armagh Benevolent Society: the good which it has the power of dispensing, is alike obvious to the educated and to the illiterate; but is its usefulness incapable of extension?—could it not be made the means of cheering the hearts of the widowed and the fatherless?—of rescuing the afflicted mother from misery—the destitute child from vice?—surely the answer will be in the affirmative. Let us, for a moment, contemplate the wretched condition of a child, deprived, at an early age, of his natural protectors; let us trace his progress through the rugged paths of a world, the privations of which he feels—the pleasures of which he knows not; he is a wanderer on the face of the earth; for him this life has few attractions; you will see him shivering in the blast without the means of alleviating his condition, ravenous for food, without the prospect of a repast, and exposed to all the horrors of a winter, without a garment to save, or a home to shelter, him from its inclemencies. If he is visited with disease, no tender mother bends, in anxious solicitude, over his bed—no endearing tones soothe his afflicted spirit; his wants are neither an-

ticipated by friends nor regarded by strangers;—he is looked upon as an outcast from society—"a pilgrim among the nations,"—his very existence is deemed a burthen, and the child who, under the judicious management of a virtuous father, might have become a useful member of society, is forced into a fellowship with the vicious and the profligate; his feelings, habits, and opinions, are regulated by the circumstances in which he is placed; his hand is raised against all, and he repays, with dreadful retribution, the scorn and contempt he has endured, as a natural consequence of his deprivation; he is uneducated and irreligious, unrestrained by any obligations to society; he grows up, contaminated by every excess—stained with every crime; in youth he is vicious and immoral; in manhood, the victim of sensuality—the slave of every passion,—and if he has not already forfeited his worthless life to the outraged laws of his country, in old age human nature is degraded in his person, as he seeks, from door to door, the eleemosynary contributions of those before whom, under different circumstances, he might have stood with erect front, the noble bearing of virtuous independence. How different might his situation have been was there a Society, one of whose objects was to supply to him the wants of parents and of friends, by throwing the shield of its protection over his defenceless head, by cultivating intellectual faculties, diffusing the inestimable benefits of education over his mental power, and securing his success in life by a trade which would enable him, in place of being a burthen, to become an acquisition to society. Thus, in protecting the yet innocent child

from the dangers and privations which beset him in a state of orphanage, we serve ourselves—we benefit society, and we prevent the dignity of our nature from being outraged: in place of a nuisance, we create a good; in plucking as it were, “a brand from the burning,” we preserve a man, whilst we annihilate a monster. Viewing the subject, then, with the cold, the calculating policy of the world, we secure a large profit, we guard against a positive loss; but, my friends, does not the consciousness of having been useful to your fellow-creatures carry its own reward along with it? The pleasurable emotions inseparable from a proper discharge of our duty are infinitely gratifying to a well-regulated mind, and in after life will be reverted to with feelings which “Angels might envy, and God himself will surely confirm.” Would it not be a pleasing reflection to any of us, if the great Disposer of all events should ever visit us with a change of circumstances, that we had contributed to the moral as well as physical enjoyment of members, who, without our efforts, would have been degraded to a level with the beasts that perish?—that we had soothed the departing spirit of a father, with the assurance that his offspring would be guarded against the vicissitudes of orphanage, and protected from the buffetings of a cold and a heartless world? Surely such an institution is not incompatible with the principles of the Armagh Benevolent Society.—Let an appeal be made to the charitable feelings of the citizens of Armagh, and I think the result will prove that they are not deficient in genuine benevolence. A little exertion, on your parts, would soon create a fund adequate to realize all the

glorious anticipation we have contemplated. Procure additional honorary members—set apart their contributions towards the formation of this sacred fund, and future generations will have reason to bless the philanthropy of the founders of this noble Institution. Your Chairman has desired you never to despair of individual exertions. I would repeat the good advice; and assure you, in opposition to the narrow views—the contracted observations of the mere wordling—that, in spite of all its faults, there is more charity in this fair world “than is dreamt of in his philosophy.” Any ordinary member who was anxious to prevent his children becoming what I have endeavoured to paint, might, by a trifling addition to his monthly subscription, secure to his family all the good results which I have contemplated. But I shall not at present occupy your time with an exposition of the plan. At the next meeting of the Society I shall be prepared to submit it to you, in the confident expectation of its receiving the approval of every member of this Society. (Hear.) I cannot conclude without giving your Chairman all the credit which is incontestably due to him as the proposer of this Institution; he it was, as a reference to the introduction of your rules will prove, who first contemplated its establishment, and I am sure we may now confidently calculate on his zealous co-operation in any project likely to benefit the human race, or add to the sum of human happiness. There is, perhaps, no enquiry in which the human mind can be employed, in which prejudice is not likely to retard its operations. The mass of society is too apt to regard as theoretical

any plan differing from the received opinions and habits of the world, and look upon it, accordingly, as impracticable; but the truly wise man will pursue a different course; he will not adopt the absurd opinions, nor hold, with desperate tenacity, the prejudices of the majority, because they have been sanctified by time or honored by great names;—he will calculate the probabilities of failure, without reference to established absurdities; and the chances of success, without taking into consideration the imaginary obstacles of the ignorant and unthinking. I would be the last person in the world to recommend the hasty adoption of any plan which would tend, however remotely, to militate against your temporal interest: on the contrary, I would have you scrupulously investigate the proposition;—I would have you exercise your reasoning faculties in the discussion—and if you find it suited to the circumstances in which you are placed, or calculated to add to the happiness of yourselves individually, or of society generally, I would have you adopt it.

RIGHTS OF WOMEN.

A Lecture delivered by Mrs. Wheeler, last year, in a Chapel near Finsbury Square.

IN conceding to the solicitations of the managers of this Institution, to deliver a Lecture on the: "SOCIAL CONDITION OF WOMEN," I have had to struggle against a two-fold obstacle, that of depressed health, and a mind robbed of much of its energy and elasticity by a deep domestic sorrow. And while I feel the difficulty of employing a moderate language, in speaking

of the degraded position of my sex, I am on the other hand but too well aware, that the remarks I am about to make, will draw upon me the hate of most men, together with that of the greater portion of the *very sex*, whose *rights* (at the present stage of my existence) I attempt to advocate, with a disinterestedness which finds no rallying point in Self.

But what appears to me the most cheerless part of my task—I would almost say the "forlorn hope of my enterprise," is that I am doubtful, whether any material good can be effected by this and similar lectures, seeing as I do, the rottenness of our institutions, and those especially which smell of *rank* injustice, in the disabilities set up against half the human race: WOMAN!

Nevertheless I shall attempt this task, stimulated by hope, which some friends entertain, that by so doing I contribute to the support of a truly liberal institution (as I understand this to be) besides, offering an example, which might produce the most beneficial results, if followed up, on similar principles, and acted upon by a competent number of Women.

Should I however fail to awaken attention, in that portion of my audience, most immediately interested in my remarks, (if indeed what concerns all can be said to relate particularly to some,) I shall at least have discharged a debt to society, which its own increasing liberality enables me to pay, by permitting this public appeal!

For myself I confess, that "to die and make no sign" expressive of my horror, indignation and bitter contempt, for that state of society called civilized, which in fact is nothing more than bar-

barism masked, playing off its brute absurdities under wisdom's guise, (through which however the cloven foot never fails to appear, and more particularly so in the destiny it has assigned to women,) would, I feel, complete the measure of my regret for having lived only to serve and suffer, in my capacity of slave and woman; but the opportunity afforded me now, to leave *one* parting admonition to Society, will greatly mitigate those regrets which I feel, in common with every good mind, when denied the power of being more actively useful.

After this introduction to a question, that may indeed be called a *Pivot*, on which all our social interests turn—it would manifest little respect for the intelligence of my hearers, were I to offer any apology for the remarks I am about to make—Men and Women, must be prepared, to find me laying aside that cheat *courtesy*, speaking to facts, and holding the mirror up—Not indeed to nature, (for man's cruel social code has stultified, if not stifled nature in him,) but to some mockery of himself, some distorted image of a goodly nature, warped in all its fair proportions by the evil genius *vanity*, who condemns him to be his own tormentor, in being the enemy and oppressor of *WOMAN*!

Before I proceed further, it may be necessary to say, that I have no antipathy to men but only to institutions; no leaning to the interests of one sex above the other; my object is to deprecate that narrow, stupid policy which divides their interests, and in so doing, makes a pandemonium of our earth, by forcing its inhabitants to be in constant opposition to each other!

Whatever then may be the force of the terms I employ, to decry the monstrous, degraded condition of my sex, I beg to be understood, as speaking, more in *sorrow* than in anger; more with *regret*, for the loss of happiness to both sexes, than to either in particular. It is not in the nature of Woman (when she has strength of character sufficient to preserve original feelings, and reject those which are forced upon her adoption) to wish to mete out undue proportions of good, for one sex above the other—her destiny is to be the *mother* of both, and nature, whose laws are general and not partial, makes no distinction in a mother's love!

When I advocate the Rights of Women then, I do it under the most perfect conviction, that I am also pleading the cause of men by showing the mighty influence Women hold over the happiness or misery of men themselves, according as they are instructed or ignorant, as they are fettered or free, as they *act on principles*, not *learned by rote*, but acquired through the full developement of their *own faculties*, not put into movement like machines, or led like beasts of burden, at the capricious will of a master, or in stupid routine, by that *many headed* despot custom! So true it is that, "though men make the law, it is women who mould the manners and morals of society; and according as they are enlightened or ignorant, do they spin the web of human destiny.

It may be difficult for those, who have not studied the complexity of social movement, to conceive how beings, apparently deprived of *all power*, can possess *so much*, particularly as all the ingenuity of short sighted cunning legisla-

tors, has been exhausted, not only to make, but keep them passive instruments of man's will; well knowing, that the most effectual means of perpetuating the ignorance, and consequent slavery of men themselves, was to close the door effectually to all progressive improvement in woman, by assigning to her the lowest position in the scale of being, that which connects itself solely with man's mere animal wants!

But how does nature avenge her wrongs, and those of eternal justice, in refusing to cultivate women's intellectual faculties. Men are caught in their own snares; and the ignorance, that they would exclusively confine to women, soon becomes general, and works itself into a very solid chain of fallacies and errors, which ultimately leads opinion; and opinion, whatever be the direction given to it, is always sure to be triumphant!

Woman it is, who by a stupid servile submission to man's arbitrary will, gives stability to all his selfish propensities, and which encountering no *judgment* in their passage to her mind, leaves it the recipient of every foul and monstrous error; thus, like the fabled Pandora, she spreads the contents of the fatal box through all society!

Oh! how contagious is error! *Prejudice* becomes *fixed principle*, omnipotent always, in proportion as its tendency is mischievous. Thus man, by his narrow views of mere personal interest, his jealous monopoly of rights and privileges, his absurd system of *sexual morality*, (as if indeed *this* can be a virtue and *that* a vice, which is not *distinctly* vice or virtue in every body); his setting

up *individual*, as opposed to *general* interests has plunged him in perpetual warfare with his species! Hence the results we read of, and witness: vice, crime, and dissocial anarchy abound, misery, privation and suffering, in every degree that our nature is susceptible of; happiness is lost to all, because security is unknown to any. This alas! must ever be the case, whilst our social system is based on principles of discord, while unity of action is sacrificed, in all our arrangements, and the most striking lessons that experience can offer, are neither attended to nor understood!

But I must not lose time in vain declamations against the vicious tendency of our institutions which have been termed by hireling advocates, "*the perfection of human reason.*" What a satire this, on human reason! As well indeed might we discover perfection in the first rude attempts at sculpture, as in that mass of inconsistency and folly which our laws presents, and which is as much the *caricature* of reason, as the other is of the human face and form.

If reason means any thing, it means a *generalizing* faculty of the human mind, which finds, 'tis true, its source in *instinct*, but its limits only in *experience*. When left uncultivated we lose all the advantages which should distinguish the human from the brute animal, and thus, by *screwing* up human reason to the sticking point *perfection*, all clue has been lost to social happiness.

In the abstract we are willing to admit, that nothing can be good which produces permanently evil effects: the social history of man abundantly shows that nothing is more *perfectly imperfect* and irra-

tional, than laws and institutions which do not recognise the general interest of all mankind.

But let us examine the grounds of *disabilities* set up by men, to disfranchise half the human race, Women; the effects of this treatment on us and on themselves; and whether indeed there is any essential difference between the sexes, which can authorise the superiority men claim over women? What are the causes of, and who are accountable, for the seeming difference which makes the sum of their plea?

It will, I think appear, that man's own tyranny has created the distinction which he ungenerously sets up as a just cause for its exercise.

FIRST; *Deficiency of muscular strength*, has been deemed a sufficient reason for reducing them to vassalage, not to mention the grosser barbarities, which we know to be the daily practice of men towards beings whose happiness is so inseparably linked with their own, and which the law, *the written law*, that stupendous monument of man's disgrace, not only sanctions but dictates to every known extent, save but the murderous blow, which ends the sufferings of the victim; and for this show of mercy, man's own life is forfeited. All experience proves how little reason men have to triumph, in the base possession of an authority which unnatural violence and usurpation first put into their hands, and which has not, as is presumed, found its excuse in the physical or moral organization of Women. As to the first charge of bodily weakness, strange enough Monsieur de Chateaubriand, in his book of martyrs (an appropriate place to find a chapter on Women,) brings

a host of evidence, from travellers and naturalists, to prove that this deficiency of strength in Woman, is nothing but a *civilized disease*, imposed no doubt, on women, to shorten the duration of life, and to provide men with a rapid succession of youthful slaves; in short a civil or civilized way of getting rid of a superfluous number; less *shocking* though not less cruel, than that resorted to, by other nations which cannot boast the high degree of civilization of our own. So that this supposed organic weakness, which condemns women to be slaves, is by no means borne out by fact. Savage tribes acknowledge it not, and men everywhere choosing their occupation compel women to drudgery, while they themselves engage in the most pleasurable and profitable pursuits of life.

(*To be continued.*)

A CAUTION TO THE POLITICIAN.

Relative to Co-operative Societies, extracted from Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine, No. 161, January, 1830.

“DIFFICULT as it is to force upon the attention of those, who live in continual plenty and immoral indulgence, the severe distress of those, whom it is a trouble to them to think of, yet they can hardly be blind to the necessity of acting in a matter, which the people themselves have taken up in a way extremely novel in this country and dangerous, or the contrary, according as the legislature may make it. Multitudes of the common people now see clearly the state they are placed in. They perceive that their labour is valuable, if they had the means of applying it; but as their former masters have no use for it, they are driven to see whether they cannot use it for their own advantage.

Those who have the virtues of thrift and patience, are forming themselves into societies for the purpose of enjoying the benefit of their mutual labour; and it is impossible to look at their virtuous endeavours, to substitute comfortable competence for the horrors of dependence on precarious employment by masters, without wishing them Godspeed. But it may be worth the while of the politician, to look carefully at the effects which such societies, should they become extensive and abundant, may have upon the political state of the community. It is not always well, (in a political sense,) that the knowledge should be forced upon men, of what they may accomplish by co-operation and union; and especially it is dangerous in an aristocratical state, where this knowledge is given to men of strong coarse minds, to whom meat, drink, clothes, fire and the liberty of being governed according to their own views of right, are the *SUMMA BONA*."

REVIEW.

An Inquiry into the causes and remedies of Pauperism.

First Series. Containing Correspondence with C. Poulett Thompson, Esq. M. P. upon the conditions under which Colonization would be justifiable as a national measure.

Second Series. Containing Correspondence with M. Duchatel, author of an Essay on Charity.

Third Series. Containing Letters to Sir Francis Burdett, Bart. M. P. upon Pauperism in Ireland.

By the Right Honourable R. Wilmot Horton, M. P. London: Edmund Lloyd. 1830.

CONSIDERING the interest of humanity, the subject of all others, the most important, that can engross the serious attention of reflecting man, it has become a

habit with us, or rather the strongest passion of the mind, to seek with avidity, and study with attentive enquiry, various plans presented by individuals to the public for social amelioration. Amongst others Mr. Wilmot Horton's "Inquiry into the causes and remedies of Pauperism" has met us.

The causes, or rather some few of the multifarious causes of national distress, are there judiciously commented upon; but we must avow our disappointment in finding the remedy proposed so little adequate to the magnitude of the evil this gentleman attempts to grapple with. We have searched in vain through these letters, for any large or comprehensive plan of social regeneration; and it is to be regretted that so laudable an ambition to *do good*, as that which evidently stimulates Mr. W. Horton's exertions, should be paralyzed by the limits he prescribes to his own genius, in taking up his stand at a mere palliative, *Emigration*; and that too, of more than doubtful expediency, for widely spread, and deeply rooted, national distress. Recent trial has shewn the emigration plan in its *results*, anything but satisfactory; whether it relates to economy of the public funds, or to the wretched people themselves, who, with disease already preying on their vitals, the consequence of starvation and despair, are forced to the cruel alternative of abandoning their native land to seek in a foreign one, the bread their *own* country *ungratefully* refused them! What have they to hope from change of country, thus bowed down by sickness and sorrow?---*change of misery only*, and this increasing

in proportion as the energies, physical and moral, gradually decline. The last refuge of the unhappy still awaits them—a premature grave; this is their only consolation for a life of suffering. We are astonished that no *better* remedy, than one which has been found to fail, should not have presented itself to the acute mind of Mr. W. Horton. But it exemplifies the justice of Pope's line on the subject of happiness.

“Strange what so near us, *yet* beyond
us lies,
“O'erlooked, seen double, by the fool
and wise.”

Mr. W. Horton, it is true, presents a choice of plan, between foreign and domestic colonization. Why not then propose and advocate the *latter* system? already so successfully begun in many parts of the united kingdom, under the *name of Co-operation*. Those societies, though retarded by want of capital in the uniting parties, and other impediments of a moral nature; and under circumstances the most disadvantageous, this plan, struck out, by the labouring classes themselves, makes rapid progress, and thousands manifest a restless impatience to enter on its practice. When ever the principles of Co-operation are even imperfectly understood by the people, the *cause* of their present miserable and degraded condition, is at once revealed to them; they discover that *disunion* is the parent of want, vice, crime, and disease: and that *ignorance* is *alone* the cause of disunion. Here is a plan presented to the eye and understanding of every one, for the remedy and extirpation of pauperism from the land, and consequently for social renovation.

No. I.—VOL. I.

This effort of the people themselves, to unite their means and labour, for mutual support and improvement, is indeed a *broad* hint to legislators, though only the mute expression of a people's wants, respectfully laid before their rulers.

These are signs of the times, which those who run, may read; and we would strenuously recommend to the educated classes, (whom one would not *willingly* see left at immeasurable distance, from that *intelligence* now making rapid way with the less fortunate classes of this country,) to read, mark, and learn the meaning of these portentous signs, that they may by degrees acquire the power of accommodating their understandings to the new and *more rational* views of society, which are abroad.

To remove effectually the cause of distress, which now afflicts, in no slight degree, all classes of these realms, it will be only necessary for the rich to aid and encourage the working people, in the efforts they are making for themselves in Co-operative Associations. Such encouragement from government would make it unnecessary to expend vast sums of the public treasure, in transporting thousands of skilful artisans, and industrious poor, from the land of their sympathies; (and this too, in the teeth of an avowed fact, that there are thirty millions of uncultivated acres in the British dominions;) deriding the sufferings, and casting the bitterest reflections on the ignorance, indolence, and inhumanity of the legislative body. The argument Mr. W. Horton brings forward, in support of the emigration plan, is indeed so shallow, that a

child could detect the absurdity of a comparison between a crowded bench relieved of its supernumeraries, and an over-charged population disgorged by emigration. And here we are put off with only an *assertion*, that the *vacuum* would not be filled, but by what process this ordinary course of events is to be prevented, we are not informed. The only effectual mode of *regulating* population, must, we believe, entirely owe its existence to *favourable* social arrangements, which implies a high degree of improvement in the moral faculties of man.

Till such social circumstances are brought into operation, it is refusing ourselves the examination of the question, to suppose that population will regulate itself, when we have drawn off its superfluous numbers, without any attempt being made to improve the social and moral condition of the people. Such an idea would but too strikingly illustrate the truth of a remark made in these letters, that "there is in England, in all classes of society a disinclination for the consideration of *general principles*, disgraceful at once to the *tone of Education*, as it is injurious to the interests of the community."

Indeed we dwell with singular satisfaction on many profound remarks, made by Mr. W. Horton and his correspondents, they are full of salutary admonition to all *unthinking* classes, and cannot be too often repeated—such as the following.

"The blame of the necessity of emigration, entirely falls upon the mechanism of society, which compels the choice, between emigration and extreme misery. The

mechanism is indeed avowedly worn out, and refuses all attempts at repair, and in this inventive age, "with all appliances and means to boot," shall we wait stupidly till the ponderous mass falls in, which must engulf us in its ruins—and make no effort to avert such a catastrophe? Nothing indeed, but the most deplorable *ignorance*, deep-rooted prejudice, or wreckless indifference to the general good, on the part of a people or their rulers, could induce them to keep a tenacious hold of any system, proved by long and fatal experience, to produce nothing but evil and anti-social effects. Yet thus it is with our civilized system, regarded as it is, with a *superstitious* reverence, which belongs to darker ages.

"The term alone has had such hold on men's imagination, that whatever be the quantum of vice, crime and suffering in society; however opposed to the nature of man, and his best interests as a social being, are the principles of the system, we still find the spell unbroken, and the word continually associated with the idea of the highest possible point of improvement, to which man can arrive in his social and intellectual career. If then the word possesses so great a charm for us, as to make us overlook the barbarous workings of the system, would it not be well to try and discover if there may not be *two different kinds of civilization*, a *true one and a false*? That under which human nature now languishes has only to be thoroughly analyzed, to make us start with horror! and feel humbled to the dust with shame, for having worshipped with a frantic idolatry

so long, this *guilty* deformed monster of iniquity ; which weighs like a frightful night-mare on the human understanding, and frustrating all the benevolent intentions of the god of nature for his creatures.

"Troublesome as the task may be, (observes Mr. W. Horton,) I am *afraid* we must *condescend* to examine closely the mechanism of society." Fear is here misapplied, and betrays that want of moral courage in men, which is the prominent vice of our times and country. We repeat after Mr. W. Horton, the "subject is one of an importance so great, whether as a *national* or a *universal* one, that the life of any man would be well spent in making and bringing to perfection a plan, which would be successful in effecting the desired end."

These indeed are prophetic words, "However *averse* men may be from *thinking on any subject*—on this I am satisfied they will be found very shortly to *think seriously*."

"The sooner then, they begin the more likely they are to think *correctly* on a question "big with the fate of nations."—Involving alike the happiness or misery of all classes of society, present and future, according as wisdom and humanity direct their counsels, and inform their judgment, or as obstinate folly, and selfish expediency, may cast the die of social destiny.

NOTICES OF NEW WORKS.

An Address to the Working Classes of Walsall, on the objects and advantages of societies or working unions, established on the principles of mutual Co-opera-

tion. By a Member of the Walsall Co-operative Society.

THIS little publication emanating from the working classes themselves, is well adapted to influence the persons it is intended for, and is well worth the perusal of all Co-operators.

The Rise, Course, and Uses of Co-operation, explained in an essay addressed to the First Norwich Co-operative Society.

A valuable little pamphlet, exhibiting to us many useful suggestions, which deserve much attention. We regret "The Associate" is not mentioned amongst the works it recommends for perusal by the working classes ; as that penny periodical contains many very useful remarks and regulations adopted by societies.

ARTISTS' CONVERSAZIONE.

"It is a good thing when brethren are met together in unity." This should be the motto of every association ; surmounted by the memorable emblem—a bundle of sticks. Let any body of one hundred men be actuated by that principle—be "founded on that rock," and they may defy the storms of adversity : "the gates of hell shall not prevail against them." The Co-operative societies now springing up all over the kingdom, afford a strong proof of the power and value, in a worldly point of view, of associated unity, and if the members but "hold fast their integrity," the general cry of distress will be considerably mitigated. Another advantage, accruing to the assembling of scientific and literary men, is, that jealousies, misapprehensions,

and egotistical propensities, incident to men of the brightest talent, who live secluded, or move in circumscribed spheres, are neutralized, if not removed, by frequent collision with republican intellect.—*Atlas*.

METROPOLITAN CO-OPERATIVE BOOK SOCIETY.

A meeting was held on Friday the 17th of March, at 19, Greville Street, which was, numerously attended by the original subscribers; who propose to form a society for the purpose of uniting the scattered but early friends of Co-operation. Preliminary measures were entered into for establishing a reading-room, library, lectures and discussions; as suggested by P. O. Skene, Esq. of Lewes*, who was not present. W. Ellis, Esq. filled the chair, surrounded with many other early friends of the cause.

LECTURES ON SCIENCE

At the First Westminster Co-operative Society.

A very interesting lecture on "Celestial Mechanics" has been delivered to the above society, by the secretary Mr. David Mallock, A. M., at their place of meeting in the Infant School. We must do the lecturer the justice to say that we were highly gratified, by the intelligible description, and display of the illuminated maps of the spheres, that were exhibited; and by the very chaste and elegant quotations from our poets, that were introduced by the lecturer during the evening. We

* See the Eighth Number of that useful little Periodical, "*The Associate*."

observe that a course of lectures on Anatomy, are to follow those of Mr. Mallock. Although the lecturer, Mr. Dewhurst, surgeon, is not a Co-operator, still we must give praise to the Superintendents, Messrs. Robert Sicklemore, George Moore, and John Cleave, for having catered so well in the stores of science, for the amusement and improvement of their brother Co-operators. Let men and women get a knowledge of the physical structure of themselves, and they will then be masters of the ground, experience is to work on, which no after circumstances can choke with weeds, or lay waste.

We would advise the anatomical lecturer to make less use of scientific terms, than we observed he made use of in his first lecture. If there are no synonymous terms in our mother tongue, at least the Latin and Greek terms are capable of being translated; there is no question that to an audience of ordinary persons, the term double-headed bending muscle of the elbow-joint, would be more intelligible than the "biceps flexor cubiti muscle;" even if the teacher omitted to explain what was meant by the *head* or upper portion of a muscle, attached or fastened to another part.

NARRATIVE OF A VOYAGE TO MEXICO,

By Robert Owen, Esq. of New Lanark.

In the summer of last year, application was made to me by the holders of grants of several millions of acres of land in Texas, a province within the republic of Mexico, to assist them in colonizing their districts. I proposed to them to institute measures to establish an independent state of commu-

nities on the social system, in which all the laws and institutions should be in conformity with the principles on which that system is founded, and which are necessary to its success.

To this proposal, after due consideration, the parties assented.

Communications were then made to proper authorities, who were in London, acting for the Mexican, and several of the neighbouring republics; and finding a desire on their part, to promote this measure, I communicated my views on the subject to the prime minister of Great Britain, and the ambassador in London from the United States of North America. There was no appearance of any private or public obstacles to my views. I made my arrangements to proceed to Mexico, to ascertain what could be effected with that government.

In an early stage of these proceedings, Mr. Rocafuerte, the accredited authority in Great Britain, acting for the Mexican republic, requested that I would draw up a memorial to explain my objects, which he might transmit to his government. I made one accordingly. It was translated into Spanish, and forwarded with letters of recommendation and explanation by Mr. Rocafuerte, to the president of the republic, by the British packet which left England for Vera Cruz in October.

The following is a copy of the memorial.

MEMORIAL.

I address you on a subject entirely new, in the character of a citizen of the world.

You have established your republic to improve the condition of the inhabitants of Mexico.

You have already discovered obstacles, of a formidable nature, to retard, if not to prevent, the execution of your intentions to the extent you anticipated.

All other people experience difficulties in their progress to improvements, and desire to remove them.

I propose measures for your consideration, which shall enable you to remove your own difficulties, and assist others to remove theirs.

At an early period of my life, I dis-

covered that the foundation of all human institutions was an error; and that no permanent benefit could be obtained for the human race, until that foundation should be removed, and replaced by a better.

That the prejudices of all nations were formed by their education, or those general and particular national circumstances by which they were surrounded from infancy to maturity.

That, to remove these prejudices, a new course of proceeding must be adopted, to enable the population of the world to perceive the errors in which they are involved, and the extent of the evils which they continually generate for themselves and their posterity.

After much reading and reflection upon these subjects, I instituted extensive experiments to ascertain, by fact, *truth* from *error*.

To be continued.

THE POOR LAWS.

An Abstract of the Bill now before the House of Commons, for preventing abuses of the Poor Laws.

THE preamble, after reciting the 43d. of Elizabeth, cap. 2, for the employment and relief of the poor, states that a perversion of the act has taken place, by paying increase of wages to labourers out of the poor's rate; increasing the same to the injury of the impotent poor. It therefore enacts, that overseers of the poor *shall not pay labourers any money in addition to wages received from their employers*, and provides for relief in case of sickness to labourers employed by the parish, to widows, to aged and infirm, and for sudden calamities. Children whose parents are unable to support them may be provided for by the parishes, in places to be appointed, as well as orphan and deserted children. Parish houses may be used for the reception of children.

Rules may be framed for their management. Rules to be confirmed by justices. No other relief to be ordered for children for whom the parish shall offer to provide. Justices empowered to visit houses provided for the reception of children. Parishes may unite in establishments for children, money may be raised by loan for the purposes of the act of this session for relief of the poor. Powers, &c. extend to purchasing or having of land, not exceeding forty acres. Provisions as to overseers extended to guardians of the poor, under 22 Geo. III, cap. 83. The 59 Geo. III, cap. 12, sec. 19, as to rating owners of certain lodging houses let for less than a year, &c. to be extended to all houses, &c. let under £10 a year.

CO-OPERATIVE SILK HANDKERCHIEF.

At length, the long looked for fancy silk pocket handkerchief, made by the distressed Co-operators of Spitalfields and Bethnal Green, has made its appearance. It fully answers our expectations, and is an important piece of art; we never saw so interesting a *nose rubber* before—full of satire and intelligence—giving a perfect lesson on political economy—instructive and amusing, at the same time that it is useful.

The centre piece is a perfect representation of the various classes of Society, in Great Britain and Ireland. The figures do not represent the exact numerical proportion, which the different classes bear to each other. That proportion cannot, at present be ascertained by private individuals, nor is it material for the purpose, that it should be exactly known.

The figure in the centre of the inner circle represents the king and the royal family.

The inner or smaller circle, of figures, represents the nobility, and land owners, including small freeholders. *The whole property of the soil* is in the possession of this circle or class.

The outer, or larger circle, represents a variety of classes, viz.—the fundholders and capitalists—the merchants and manufacturers—the clergy—the liberal professions—the civic officers of the government the army and navy—in short, all who consume wealth, and who are neither land owners—nor labourers—nor paupers.

The group of figures on the right of the circle represents the paupers. The group on the left represents the working classes, including such of their employers as *work with their workmen*.

It has been said in and out of parliament, over and over again, that the *paupers are a great burthen* to the *upper classes*, as if those classes laboured for the maintenance of the poor. In fact from the head of government to the overseer's clerk, it is a matter of consideration, how this burthen is to be got rid of; act after act of parliament has been passed to rid them of the care and demands of the distressed poor, as if the paupers eat their money. But where does this money come from? *The working classes*. Where does it go? To the wealthy classes. Who furnish the upper classes with this money? The working classes. The fact is, the paupers never even see the colour of the money. They consume clothes, food, buildings, &c. Who make these things? The working classes. Who make all the fine clothes, the

savoury meats, the delicious drinks, the sumptuous equipages, and splendid mansions and parks enjoyed by the upper classes? The working classes. In short, instead of the upper classes crying out that they maintain the heavy burthen of paupers, they should remember that the working classes are borne down with the burthen of entertaining all, *rich and poor*.

The rest of the pattern is extremely expressive, and pleasing. A bundle of sticks, emblematic of union and strength, is prettily contrasted with a few single sticks, all separately broken, being emblematic of disunion and weakness. A border round the handkerchief, is composed of bee-hives, emblems of industry, union, and community, alternately grouped with wheat sheaves and olive-branches, emblems of abundance and peace. The four corners contain a dove flying off with olive sprigs, bearing love and innocence to all quarters of the globe. The whole makes a very pleasing and harmonizing pattern.

The handkerchief has been got up at much expense and deserves every encouragement. We have no doubt our friends in political unions will encourage this picture of truth.

A PUBLIC MEETING.

It is confidently said that Mr. Owen will hold a public meeting in the City of London Tavern, early in Easter week; and it is expected that his Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex will take the chair. We have no doubt it will be well attended, and produce a great sensation among the people.

*To the Editor of the BRITISH
CO-OPERATOR.*

S R,

The Proprietors of the *London Co-operative Magazine*, take the liberty of informing their readers, through the medium of your pages, that they have entirely given up that work; and that they have authorised the proprietor of the "*British Co-operator*" to make whatever use he may please of the title, &c. of their magazine, consistent with the interest and advancement of Co-operation.

I am, Sir,

your very obliged,

CHAS. ROSSER.

March 15, 1830.

CO-OPERATIVE MISSION- ARIES.

MR. PARE of Birmingham, a member of the British Association for promoting Co-operative Knowledge, informs us that he is now delivering lectures on Co-operation, at Liverpool, Chester, Manchester, Sheffield, and Leeds.

Mr. Watson of the same important and useful Association, has been lately acting as a Co-operative missionary in Leeds, Halifax, Barnsley, Todmorden, Huddersfield, &c.; where, if we may judge from the statements of the provincial papers only, this first missionary to the country has done great and permanent good. It is to be hoped that the British Association may be enabled to establish a number of Co-operative missionaries, to carry and diffuse intelligence amongst the industrious classes. We refer our readers to the "*Third Quarterly Report*" of that Association for much valuable information.

LIST OF CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES IN LONDON.

SOCIETIES' NAMES.	PLACE OF MEETING.	STOREKEEPERS
First London	19, Greville Street	W. Lovett.
Second London	6, Little Windmill St. Golden Sq.	W. Watkins.
First West London ..	33, Queen St. Bryanstone Square	W. Freeman
New London	17, Plumber Street, Old St. Road	C. Gold.
First Soho	27, Denmark Street, St. Giles....	J. Elliot.
Lambeth & Southwark	3, Webber Street, Waterloo Road	J. Booth.
First Westminster ..	37, Marsham St. Vincent Square .	— Jarrold.
First Pimlico	8, Ranelagh Street .....	.....
First St. James.....	5, Rose Street, Crown Street, Soho	.....
First Finsbury	69, Old Street Road	Committee.
Somers Town.....	22, Great Clarendon Street .....	.....
Islington	White Horse, Back Road .....	.....
Islington, Methodists	6, High Street, Islington Green..	
Hampstead	Duke of Hamilton.....	Not trading
Pentonville	Chapel Street	
First Bethnal Green..	9, South Conduit Street.....	J. Bredell.
Second Ditto	17, West Street, North Street	
Third Ditto	Norfolk Arms	
Fourth Ditto	Wilmot Grove	
Fifth Ditto	School, Sidney St. Twigg Folly..	R. Oliver.
Sixth Ditto.....	10, Thomas Street, Brick Lane ..	T. Riley.
Seventh Ditto	Well and Bucket, Church Street .	
Middlesex	22, St. Ann's Court, Wardour St.	— Basset.
	8, Berwick Street, Soho	Not trading
First Southwark	Gun, Joiner St. Westminster Road	
Southwark	Black Bull, Bull Court, Tooley St.	
Cooper's Ratcliff	75, Heath St. Commercial Road..	— Sennitt.
North London	Duke of Clarence, Pancras Road	.....
Second West London	11, Duke St. Lincoln's Inn Fields	
	{ The King's Head, Swinton }	
	{ Street, Gray's Inn-road . }	
Hand in Hand	The Crown, Red-cross Street	
First Hoxton	The Bacchus, Old Hoxton	
Bow .....	.....
Whitechapel .....	.....
First Stepney.....	.....	.....
First Bloomsbury ..	Bull and Mouth, Hart Street	
Metropolitan	Eagle Coffee-house, Farringdon St.	Committee.
First Kennington. ..	The Union, Vassal Road	
First Chelsea	36, Regent St. Chelsea Common	Committee.
Knightsbridge .....	.....
Kensington.....	Birch's School-room	
United Christians ...	74, Leonard Street, Shoreditch ..	Richardson.
Methodists	Newal, Baker, Wardour St. Soho	
St George Hanover Sq.	Portsmouth Arms, Shepherd Street	Not trading

* * Notice of any alterations or additions will be published when communicated.

YALE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY
PHOTOGRAPHIC SERVICE

New Haven 3-19-51

1951

Departmental (or other) charge Univ. of Illinois lib

Name of Individual Order No A32341; Fund - Illinois Historical Survey

Address Urbana, Illinois Helen M Welch Asquith Lib

is sheet.

Price

Delivery Instructions (mail, Will call, telephone no. _____)

Title (1) British Co operators, Apr. - Oct 1830 PP.

College
Pans

(2) London PP.

Vol 1 #1

(3) _____ PP.

INSTRUCTIONS:

microfilm to end of volume

Photostats

Negatives _____	Positives _____	_____ at \$
Negatives _____	Positives _____	_____ at \$
Negatives _____	Positives _____	_____ at \$
Enlargements _____	reductions _____	_____ at \$0.10
Combinations _____		_____ at \$0.10

Amount

Microfilms (Minimum charge \$1.00)

Negative exposures _____	_____ at \$0.03
Service charge (change of sequence or focus) _____	_____ at \$0.10

Photographs

Negatives - 5 x 7 _____	_____ at \$1.00
" 8 x 10 _____	_____ at \$1.50
Contact prints - 5 x 7 _____	_____ at \$0.25
- 8 x 10 _____	_____ at \$0.40
Enlargements - size _____	_____ at \$

Special Charges

\$

Exp 14

tax
POSTAGE

TOTAL

New Haven 3-19-51

1951

Illinois kit

Illinois Historical Survey

in m Welch. As Agun. Lib in

is sheet.

Price

Telephone no. _____)

1830 PP.

College
Pans

PP.

Vol 1 #1

PP.

Volume

Amount

\$0.10

\$0.10

\$0.03

\$0.10

\$1.00

\$1.50

\$0.25

\$0.40

tax

POSTAGE

TOTAL